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In
Hanashiro the children take the short walk to primary and junior high school at Gushichan village; for senior high school they go to Chinen, 5 or 6 miles away. Most of them walk. Matsuda has an elementary school with the junior and senior high schools at Ginoza village, about 1 1/2 miles away. In senior high school, there is more specialization. The general science course is divided into physics (butsuri), chemistry (kagaku), and biology (soibutsu). Mathematics is split up into geometry (rika) and algebra (daitsu). There is further instruction in agriculture for the boys, some for the girls. The girls continue with domestic science, including sewing.

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In the secondary schools, vocational education is well represented in the curriculum. The courses are planned as a preparation for the type of work students will do as adults in a village. The instructors seem competent although the subject matter does not include modern advances. There should not, in my opinion, be a further growth in vocational at the expense of general education, except after careful study of long term requirements. The great masses of people will continue to depend on agriculture, forestry, and to some extent on fishing for their existence, and vocational education should be built around a recognition of these facts. It should concentrate on supplying new knowledge related to these main fields.

New technical skills that we desire to develop should be governed by these considerations: (1) the improvement of agriculture, forestry, and fishing. (2) The long range plans of the military and civil administration and the skills they will require. (3) New skills that will be needed with any development of foreign trade or of local industrialization.

Vocational education also should be developed along lines consistent with the type of professional training we are prepared to encourage. If biologists, botanists, agriculturalists, soil scientists, foresters, statisticians, social scientists are being trained, vocational and technical education should also follow along these general lines to create a source both of initial interest and of possible technicians to assist the professional workers. This would also apply to the public health fields, such as nurses' aides, midwives, laboratory technicians.

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The distinguishing feature of the new education (shinkyōiku) is the introduction of democratic ideas (minshushugi). The status of girl students and of women teachers has also changed. Before the war, the children were taught in the same room, but the boys and girls were separated. Now there is no segregation. Women teachers' salaries, formerly about 20% less than the men's, are now the same.

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Schools and the Teacher

There is much more to a school day than actual instruction. The

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358 children, whether in primary, junior, or senior high school, clean up the grounds and do repair and upkeep work. Young teachers, many of whom are single, supervise the work, and often stay during the evening hours to plan the day's work or to study. Male teachers are night watchmen at the school, sleeping there in rotation.

346 The main problems of education are (1) adequate school buildings. Their condition reflects the haphazard tragedies of war. Schools vary in quality from place to place. The high school at Ginoza and the elementary school at Matsuda, for example, are excellent buildings; in other places, such as Gushichan village, the classroom buildings are little more than shanties with thatched roofs, and a siding of boards, corrugated iron, or other materials at hand. At typhoon times, some of these are flattened, and it is normal to see school children helping to clear the grounds and putting on new thatch. It is my impression generally that conditions are worse in southern Okinawa than in the northern area where war destruction was much less. The Civil Administration is well aware of these problems and the school construction program is, to all appearances, progressing. (2) Much the same situation and for the same reasons, exists with regard to school equipment. Richety chairs, old benches, bad blackboards contrast with the equipment of the new schools or of the old which escaped destruction.

875 (3) The post-war period has made a difference in the status of the school teacher (sensei). The destruction and disruption of the war, scarcity, high prices and low salaries have made his position in most cases a precarious one. Before the war, the school teacher had prestige and money. Only the prestige remains. One high school principal estimated that the post-war prices have increased 100 times, the teachers' salaries about fifty times. Immediately before the war, the starting salary of a beginning teacher was ¥15 a month. (The value of the pre-war Japanese yen was about US \$0.27). A school principal received ¥100 a month. Now the beginning salary for school teachers is about ¥2200 and for principals ¥5000. (The present value of the Okinawan yen is officially pegged at 120 to the dollar). Increases averaging about 30% went into effect in October 1951.

[555] The school teacher has little or no money for clothing; his dress is the same nondescript combination of old civilian and army clothing that one sees on everyone else. This situation, serious in any country, is particularly so in a culture that has always regarded the teacher with such honor. The teaching profession is the source of many careers in public office. Even in casual observation, one frequently finds that mayors, vice-mayors, former members of the Japanese civil service, started life as teachers.

The Okinawan teacher works hard and enthusiastically, but new attitudes are appearing which must be recognized. There is a desire to leave the profession, particularly noticeable in the male teachers under 30. Economic difficulties are reflected in frustration and discouragement. Okinawan school teachers, if the ones I knew are representative, have enthusiasm for ideas of democracy and freedom and for reforms that have

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Ancestor Worship

"Ancestor worship" has been used to describe the devotion to the spirit of the dead and the long continued remembrance of them by the living. While it is too deeply entrenched to be changed, the term is not satisfactory. It is really the worship of those who precede one in death, and these may be ascendants or descendants. The term, "ancestor worship," also conceals the fact that there is a partnership of the living and the dead, which, continued by the living generation in the production of children, will carry over in the future, so that family continuity from the remote past to the remote future is never broken. It is, in the phrase of John Hubbard, "a chain of worship,"² not merely the worship of the past and of the dead. But whether in the popular mind these two conceptions, worship of the dead and the family as a continuity, are closely and consciously related is impossible for me to say. The two ideas exist side by side on the level of feeling: to respect one's ancestors and to have children.

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Another form of ancestor worship occurs in observances honoring the first ancestor or the founder of the village. Each village has a place of the guardian god (ujigami), located on the supposed site where the founder of the village first settled, which perpetuates the memory of the founder, who may, in some cases, also be the first ancestor of a family living in the village. (It has been suggested that the ujigami also might be related historically to the fire deity). Ceremonies at the place of the village guardian god have a public character and were often conducted by the priestesses.

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Hanashiro. The place of the guardian god, a small building, is located on a plot of village owned land, off the main road at the edge of the settlement where the cultivated land begins. It is not well kept up. There is no attendant or caretaker. When necessary, it is reconstructed by volunteer village effort. Broken stone stairs lead up to the small tile roofed building. Inside, there are 5 stones, about 10 inches on the side and 4 inches thick. Some have thought these also represent the primitive hearth stones associated with worship of the fire god. One villager described it as a woman's deity place. Before the war, emigrants to the South Seas, South America, Manchuria, or Japan and their relatives prayed here for the good health and early return of those departing.

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Now there is public worship at the place on several occasions during the year. On the 3rd day of the 3rd month, a woman's holiday, women and children go to the seashore around Minatogawa, and, on returning, pray at the place of the guardian god. On Q-Bon, the village lion appears in front of this site. There is samisen playing and the whole village offers a prayer. (Not all villages have the lion costume.

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2 Quoted in L. Cranmer-Fyng, The vision of Asia, New York, 1933, 42.

778 One person in front fills in the head and forelegs, another in back
 796 provides the rear and hindlegs. The lion, with its human mechanism,
 536 is a common sight at festivals and parades. It is a symbol of health
 825 and strength worthy of imitation). In the Festival of the Full Moon,
 during the autumnal equinox, the lion appears again and the whole village
 participates in prayers before the festivities begin.

778 On the 1st and 15th of each lunar month, the headman goes to the
 796 place of the guardian god and makes an offering of tea, burns a charcoal
 764 stick, and says a prayer. On the 9th day of the 9th lunar month, the
 825 village council and the elders assemble before the village burial
 palanquin (gan), offer prayer at the founder's site and then before the
 village office where the lion is standing.

778 Minatogawa. This village has three deity places and various ex-
 796 planations are given for this. Some believe that two of them represent
 764 sites of co-founders, a first son, and his younger brother, the second
 825 son. The third site is vaguely known as a village god place. It is
 a small outdoor place of worship on the main village road, with a step
 and a shelf for charcoal sticks. The founders' sites are located in
 the center of the settled area, but on different sides of the road. In
 the site of the second son, there are three stones, shaped like life
 savers but with a bottom for placing the charcoal sticks, three glasses
 for tea, and three bottles. The site of the supposed first son, less
 well kept, has a small altar, four stones, tea cups, and cans for the
 burning of incense.

778 On New Year and at O-Bon, the whole, or substantial portions, of
 796 the village pray first at the supposed first son's site, then at the
 782 second son's. Prayers are offered also at the roadside deity place.
 358 Some of the younger villagers hope that as the older residents die off,
 the expenses of providing offerings and upkeep for all three can be
 eliminated and that simpler observances can take place at the roadside
 shrine. The situation now is complicated by the fact that many people
 regard themselves as descendants of one or the other co-founder.

778 Matsuda. In this village, the founder's site is reached by stairs
 189 leading up a hillside. It is in the settled area near a dense growth
 093 of trees and shrubs. Close by there is a shed in which the lion skin
 is kept. In this village the founder's site seemed less important than
 another religious place, on the main road, in which women of lesser
 rank in the former priestess system participate in ceremonies. In this
 village there seems to be less participation by all the people of the
 village at the place of the guardian or founder deity, and, instead,
 096 representatives, like the headman, elders, and the former priestesses
 conduct the ceremonies at New Year, O-Bon, and at the equinoctial
 holidays.

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793 lives like other villagers, spending most of her time in the fields and around her home. She has children and grandchildren, but the father of her children no longer lives in Taira. She regards the continuation of the old ceremonies as her holy duty even though she has to do without most of the accustomed material support from the village and in spite of disbelief and lack of participation. She has sought in vain to have the village make necessary repairs on the simple village shrine near the township office and on the little hut where the ancestral tablets of her predecessors are kept.

793 While many of the former ceremonies have been discontinued, the priestess is still called on to officiate at house-building ceremonies, to purify the lot, to offer prayers when the beams are raised, and to conduct the dedication when the house is finished. If the owner is moving out of an old house, the priestess notifies the fire deity so that he will follow to the new abode. On other occasions the priestess conducts prayers at the village shrine or at one of the other sacred places near the village. Many of the prayers are succorant—requesting the aid and blessing of the gods in accomplishing a certain goal. In general, as Lebra has pointed out (1958), ceremonies of asking for help are more numerous and elaborate than thanksgiving ones.

[312] On New Year's morning the priestess prays at the water well. Since [178] so many ceremonies have been abbreviated and are no longer carried out in traditional detail, the priestess apologizes for short cuts in her prayers. If she fails to offer prayers in all prescribed spots, she pacifies the deities by facing in the direction of the sacred place where the ceremony should have been conducted. Although the priestess is clearly best qualified to enter into communication with the deities, many older women seem to possess such power also, and if the priestess' assistants are not present, another older woman can function as her helper.

782 For these ceremonies food for offerings is contributed by the village. 788 The priestess, in a white gown, kneels, flanked by her assistants, also [262] in white, in front of a tray of sake, rice, or other food for the deities. Charcoal incense sticks are burned while brief prayers asking the deities for a successful crop, thanking them for a harvest, or whatever [533] is appropriate to the occasion are mumbled. On certain occasions the women sing chants. After these ceremonies, the priestess, her assistants and the few others present, usually old women, share the food offerings.

796 One of the most dramatic ceremonies is held on Boat Race Day in 793 lunar June. Priestesses from several villages gather near Taira. During the ceremony the Taira priestess stands in the middle of a circle formed by the other priestesses and helpers, beating a drum as the

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sometimes a chart indicating their birthdays. There are also exhibits of students' drawings, which enliven the simple rooms. Each classroom has at least one blackboard built into the wall. By withdrawing removable walls in the new building, individual rooms can be converted into one large auditorium with a small stage for special occasions. 876 [346]

The personal equipment carried by students, other than books, consists of notebooks, pencils, a ruler, abacus, and, for those who can afford it, crayons and drawing paper. Sports equipment is also scanty, and replacement budgets are too low to remedy the situation. Students bring their own tools for garden and agricultural work as well as for work on the school grounds. 872

The teachers' room has desks for each teacher and the principal and a large table in the center for meetings. A small corner is reserved for a kerosene stove to prepare tea. There are also two cots for the teacher who remains on duty as night watchmen or for a child who feels ill during school hours. No privacy is provided for teachers, since students enter the room on any pretext or crowd around the windows if something attracts their curiosity. 875 346

Upkeep of the school is the responsibility of teachers and students; the only paid help is a girl who acts as janitor, nurse, and servant. The students, supervised by their teachers, tidy up classrooms after school, scrub walls and floors at regular intervals, take care of the hallway, cut grass, and weeds, and clear ditches on the school grounds. When school repairs are needed, teachers and parents help if no specialist's work is needed, as in repairing the thatch roof of temporary buildings. 872 358

The present school system, although under American supervision, follows the Japanese pattern. A six-year elementary school education and three years of junior high school are compulsory. After graduation at about the age of 15, students can enter high school if they choose and can qualify by passing the extremely rigid entrance examinations, which eliminate a considerable number of applicants. High school students have to move to Ogimi in a nearby township where they room and board while attending school. 871 [177] [873]

The curriculum in the Okinawan schools is on the whole similar to that in Japan. Japanese language continues to be the medium, and textbooks, as well as other school materials, are purchased from Japan. Children therefore continue to be familiarized with the culture of Japan as were their parents in the days before American administration. A number of changes have taken place since that time, however. Since the Ryukyus are at present under an independent administration, all symbols and paraphernalia pertaining to the Japanese Imperial House and to the Japanese nation have been removed from the schools. 871 177 [191]

556 Six Cadres: Studies of Child Rearing

872 ment. But how should a Taira child grasp, for instance, the meaning
876 of a large hotel in the city, where travelers can stop, engage one or
several rooms, have meals served either individually in the room or
[485] at the restaurant? The little Taira guesthouse, run by the doctor
and to all extent and purposes a private home, is hardly an adequate
model.

876 Learning by doing is, on the whole, an innovation in the school
program. To find out what fifth- and sixth-grade students might have
872 learned in the home by actually doing things, the school circulated
857 a questionnaire which covered such items as: "Have you ever tried
to make a simple telescope? Did you ever watch a plant grow from
the time of seedling and make a scientific description of its progress?
Did you ever build a small toolshed or other small structure by your-
self? Did you ever make regular observations of weather phenomena
and keep a record?" From our previous description of typical ac-
tivities of Taira children, it is not surprising to learn that very few
of these or similar experiences appeared on the answers in the
affirmative.

876 At school, participation and learning by doing are found at least
868 in a few instances. The basic skills of cleaning rooms by using rag
and mop, as well as maintaining school grounds by cutting grass with
[358] a sickle and weeding with a hoe, may not have high educational
value, but they carry over to the home and village situation. In the
upper grades, students begin to do some gardening at school. Later
[241] in junior high school they work in their own small garden plots on
the school grounds and in school rice paddies under teachers'
supervision. Unlike the home situation, where learning also takes
place by observation and doing, the teacher lays a foundation for
solid knowledge by instruction and demonstration of proper tech-
niques and by criticism of errors. The large number of students who
work under guidance of a single teacher limits the practical value
of such learning situations. It is evident, however, that there is an
important qualitative difference between learning in the home situa-
tion and at school. Where the child does a chore in the village with-
out trying to meet standards set by parents, the school child finds
that the teacher scrutinizes his work carefully, judges, compares, picks
and chooses the best performers from the poorer ones, and imposes
standards for all to meet or excel. If a standard is set at all in the
village, adults tend to either overlook it or simply fail to enforce it.